/316 cont./

287 The process of preparation is like that of the ipadú bags.
532 Once the tururí trunk has been chosen, with the thickness and
764 length desired, they start to beat the bark with a mallet until the ligneous part is eliminated and the liber becomes loose. Afterwards they sew it up with tucum fiber, giving it the shape of a shirt, close up any tears in it, and at shoulder height they fit the sleeves, also of tururí, through which the dancer introduces the arms. On the bottom part the tururí will be slit in a long fringe which covers the legs.

These masks bear varied painting, since, according to the native symbolism, each mask represents an animal. For this same reason each one of them has its name, and from one mask to the other the shape of the upper part (which covers the dancer's head, corresponding to the head of the animal symbolized) also varies.

These funeral masks do not constitute tabooed objects. We have found them kept inside the dwelling in the sight of everyone.

178 Until the end of the last century, states Koch Grünberg
532 (Zwei Jahre, p. 236), the Taryana wore masks also at the feast
778 of Wãx-tĩ. These, however, like the sacred instrument (cf. above), could not be seen by women and children.

We have, moreover, found masks among the Ide-masã of the Komé-ya (tributary of the river Pirá-paraná) which are not tabooed objects, not even the one called Waxtĩ (cf. above, IV - 2, h), since they are in the sight of everyone, and the children, with all freedom, use it for their games.

4. Religion.

a) Difficulties.

177 This subject constitutes one of the most difficult chapters
• 771 of the ethnography of these tribes. In other points the influence of the civilized is more superficial and soon disappears when the contact with the whites stops and the native returns to the life of the forests. Or it is easily recognizable by the material

/316 cont./

177 culture that remained as evidence. In the religious Ethnology
• 771 we not only have the reciprocal influence among the tribes, but that of the civilized, perhaps since the discovery of the New World (1),

> 1. Frei Gaspar de Carvajal, O. P., in the description of the voyage of Francisco Orellana, 1540, relates the information of an Indian woman. "In this aldeia (in the vicinity of the mouth of the Rio Negro) an Indian woman with much sense was taken. She said that near here, in the interior, there were many Christians, among them two white women, and that others lived with Indian women from whom they had /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ children. It is presumed that these are the ones who disappeared from Diogo Ordaz." One of the ships that made up part of the squadron of Ordaz, having left Seville at the beginning of 1531, with a destination on the river Maranhão, under the command of Juan Cornejo, ran aground in this river with more than 300 men, who settled among the Indians.

all of them Christians (2),

> 2. /From p. 317 in the original source./ In our days we know of traders who baptized Indians in order to make them their "godchildren," that is, with an obligation to work for them. Grotesque episodes are told about these baptisms, sometimes of an entire maloca, just pouring on water or putting salt in the mouth, without uttering any words. Koch Grünberg himself baptized some sick children, as he tells in his

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/footnote 2 cont./ book Zwei Iahre. Still today (1957) the Missionaries find Indians scattered through various malocas who claim to have been baptized "by white," that is, by civilized who passed by the region trading.

with their cult, which would impress /317/ the savage, and with their talks or even with their positive catechizing, wishing to bring him to Christianism.

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Tribes of the Amazon and Rio Negro (cf. II - 1) (and those of the Uaupés maintained relations with those of the Rio Negro and Içana) were even evangelized by Missionaries in different times. In the seventeenth century the Jesuits and the Mercedarians were on the Rio Negro, in the eighteenth the Carmelites, in the nineteenth the Capuchins and Secular Priests.

The Christian converts were at times a minority within the group which would continue with their beliefs and practices. Perhaps in some cases an entire group, for example, a native povoado, became Christian, but later lost contact with the Missionaries -- and we saw that the catechizing on the Rio Negro and Uaupés was periodic and intermittent -- and returned to their pagan rituals.

Would there not have remained some trace of these learned teachings and religious practices? There are indications that affirm this, from which it is permissible to infer: what the Indians practice today and declared to us may not be exempt from the influence of the Christian civilized.

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Another difficulty no smaller than the first one is the reserve of the native, always suspicious, and he appears much more so on these subjects, about which there may even be an obligation to reveal nothing to the civilized. It has been verified that they more easily make disclosures about subjects of morality, which, it seems to us, should remain hidden, than about religious

/317 cont./
• 771 subjects (3).

> 3. General Couto de Magalhães, in spite of his friendly relations with many natives, reveals this silent discretion of theirs: "The Indians are very reserved and discreet in everything concerning a religious topic. In the middle of the most animated conversation, if one directs to them any question intended for the clarification of any of these points, they immediately become cool, at times somber, and either answer with monosyllables or do not answer at all" (Ensaios de Anthropologia, /Essays in Anthropology/, 495).

/318/ b) Christian influences.

177 793 We mention only three proofs of Christian influence: 1st -- the inclusion of elements of the Christian tradition in the native legends (as will be seen in the work in preparation "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/") (4);

> 4. There are some points in these legends (as we shall see in another volume, "Lendas do Uaupés") that make us admit Christian diffusion. And we are not referring to the narrations of the alumni of the Catholic Missions. As we more than once had the opportunity to verify, in the exposition of their legends they insert episodes and names of personages about which they have heard in the catechesis. One proof of this is the Tukano Cosmogony revealed by the pajé Marcos Sierra to Marcos Fulop (cf. n. 65 /sic; see note 71/, Ch. VII-4, e (2c)).

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/footnote 6 cont./ idols of gold and silver in the form of women, and many objects of gold and silver for the service of the sun" (o.c. 67).

Carvajal, however, is relating what he heard and his narration is all impregnated with unbelievable things, fruit of credulity and of suggestion.

Pe. Alonso de Rojas, describing the descent of the year 1637, testifies: "They do not have rites or ceremonies to venerate them (their false gods), neither temples of their idols nor priests" (Descobrimentos, /Discoveries/, 110). Precisely as we found them three centuries later.

346 nor persons in charge of the cult, neither priests nor religious ceremonies and prayers to honor the deity, are found among them.

/322/ There are, indeed, many superstitions, and it could not be otherwise among men of so little culture. There is unanimity in asserting that, if there is a cult, it is that of the Jurupari or demon (7)

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7. In his "Diálogos das grandezas do Brazil /Dialogues on the greatnesses of Brazil/," Teixeira Pinto, dealing with the rites of the heathen, asserts: "If they do have any and if they practice some manner of worship, although this is not known, it is the devil to whom they give the name of Jurupari" (ap. Barbosa Rodrigues, Poranduba Amazonense /Amazonian History/, 94). Jurupari and dabacuri are terms from the Lingua Geral or Nheengatú, which is still spoken on all the

4: Silva--478 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/322 cont./

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/footnote 7 cont./ Rio Negro. The use of these terms by the Indians of the Uaupés themselves, when they describe their traditions to us, is of value as proof of the foreign influence in their myths and rites.

(in Tukano Wãx-tĩ), who is celebrated or understood to be placated with the Dabacurís (in Tukano Poosé), in order for him not to harm them, malicious spirit that he is. As for God (in Tukano Wá:kõ or O'ã-kõ) he is a great absent one, who does not concern himself about human beings and is without any influence on their life. There is, then, no need to be interested in Wá:kõ or to think of him in order to worship him.

The study of these tribes convinces us that they are in a phase of great regression or involution, with traces of totemism, its little religious feeling and great preponderance of magic being shown to us by them.

121 Religion in a subjective sense is, according to W. Schmidt, Manuale di Stória comparata delle Religioni /Handbook of the Comparative History of Religions/, p. 2), "the idea and feeling of dependence on a supraterrestrial personal Power, with whom it is /323/ intended to enter into relations"; and, objectively, it is "the conjunction of exterior acts in which religion is expressed and by which it is manifested." We shall consider it especially in this sense.

Let us examine separately for better apprehension of the indications of this weak religious feeling and its exact comprehension: 1st. its doctrinal points; 2nd. its cult practices; 3rd. its rules of moral, religious, and social behavior.

d) Doctrinal points.

776 1) Concept of a Supreme Being.

a) The totality of the Indians of these tribes living in the povoados on the bank of the Brazilian rivers Uaupés, Tiquié, and Papurí distinguish at the present time, as they did a century ago,

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776 in the time of Wallace, a God Creator and Supreme Rewarder, perfect and good, and call him Wá:kõ (or O'ã-kõ), and an evil spirit that can cause them much harm, and for this reason they fear him, this is Wãx-tĩ. Not only some students and travelers, but also the natives of the younger generation themselves, identify Wãx-tĩ with the Juruparí of the Língua Geral or Nheengatú and the demon himself (8).

> 8. On the bank of the river Uaupés, above Chibarú, there is a place called Juruparí-ponta, and those of the Tukano language call it Wãx-tĩ nõã, thus identifying Wãx-tĩ and Jurupari.

• 771 Confronted with this information, one might think that their religion was a Manichaeism, with a double principle: -- the good, which practically does not need to be taken into account, and the evil (9).

> 9. Concerning this subject, we naturally have to exclude the Indians who have attended the schools of the Salesian Missions for several years and received a more profound and sound religious knowledge, strengthened, besides, by an intense religious and sacramental practical life.

776 Without, for now, questioning the names, it is certain that they admit the existence of a personal Being ("maxsã," people, as they express themselves), a being who has always existed, much superior to human beings, who lives up above. The old [177] people call this Being Bĩxpó, the Thunder (thus, for example, old Gabriel Costa of Parí-cachoeira, river Tiquié), and those who have some notion of Christianity clarify this by saying that

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e) Cult practices.

1) Local cult (litobolia).

There are no temples, that is, buildings solely dedicated to the deity, where the religious functions are performed. Nor has it been reported that there is any private cult or individual worship of the deity, ceremonies, prayers, unless as cult one understands some practices that seem to us magical, such as litobolia.

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They treat some places with respect and fear; this is tabooism. One does not see there, however, manifestations of cult, individual or social. Such are, for example, some cachoeiras and stones. And about them, in general, they tell interesting legends. They do not allow stones to be taken from such cachoeiras (35),

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35. The Bishop Dom José Domitrovitsch thought of dynamiting the cachoeira of Parí-cachoeira, in order to facilitate navigation. The local population became agitated, and the tuxaua Julio came to advise him not to do it, because otherwise fevers and sickness would come. The Bishop judged it more expedient not to go against the opinion of the Indians. Brother Mateo (of the Congregation of Montfort), at one of the rocks of the cachoeira of the thunder, Bũxpó-pweã, of the igarapé Cuiú-cuiú, tributary of the Papurí, removed a fine splinter, in order to extract a little honey. One of the Indians warned him that he should not do that, because "lightning will strike." And, to his great surprise, lightning did strike at some distance, when absolutely nothing indicated it; it was really "un fulmine a ciel sereno" /a bolt of lightning in a clear sky/. They

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797 they do not think about him nor are they interested in him. The
796 conclusion would be, not that they do not know God and do not worship him. But that they do not know Wã:kõ, that is, Jesus Christ, the "God of the whites." They only know, fear, and worship Wĩx-tĩ, the Legislator who punishes their transgressions, permitting them to have misfortunes, sicknesses, lightning bolts.

• 771 /360/ This is what we were also able to conclude from a
[115] conversation with an old Indian, almost one hundred years old (1947), Casimiro from Ipanuré.

f) Their rules of conduct -- Magic practices.

The native is convinced of the existence of extrahuman or mysterious forces, both personal and impersonal or cosmic, which can be useful or harmful to him, and which it is possible for him to dominate and take advantage of. This is what is understood by magic, considered subjectively.

The entire life of the natives is, for this reason, filled with so many positive and negative prescriptions (73)

> 73. These prescriptions, or rather, prohibitions, forbidding one to enter a certain place, to look at, to touch some object or person, is what is today called tabooism.

proceeding from this belief of theirs: or, in other words, it is saturated with magic practices. This is magic considered objectively.

Here and there we have indicated some of these magic practices; there are many others, however. Due to the number of superstitious practices that have come to our knowledge (and how many others might there be?), due to their frequency and application to the most common events of each day, perhaps it would not be an exaggeration to conclude that the mentality of the Uaupés Indians is dominated by the magic fears and beliefs as if this were an obsession, and which, naturally, is reflected and manifested in a large part of native activity.

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771 *[192] The evil that can come from an event, an action, a person, animal, or thing is called wé-boxátise, or wá-boxkátise.

The magic practices can be divided into groups: practices related to places, to things, to animals and to persons.

We shall first indicate some of these superstitious or magic beliefs.

1) Superstitions and magic beliefs.

776 Some of their beliefs have been revealed in connection with various subjects. At this point we have collected others:

a) There is a general belief in the existence of the wai maxsã or "fish people," as literally translated. They not only admit that people can be permanently or temporarily transformed into fish, /361/ but they also cite episodes of such transformations, with indication of the names of persons, the place, the date, and other individualizing circumstances. On certain occasions such persons again assume their human aspect.

They affirm that the botos /boutos/ (cetaceous mammals of the Delphinidae) are "people," "maxsã"; and that on many occasions they appear in the form of handsome young men, in order to have sexual relations with the women, especially with the unmarried maidens.

Not infrequently the female botos appear in the form of seductive women, in order to attract the young men. When such apparitions happen at night to the young men and women, it seems to them as though it was only a dream; nevertheless they actually happened, asserts the Indian.

*[192] The headless snake (Cecilidae) or two-headed snake (Lacertidae), õxsó, as is said in Tukano, may appear as a pleasant young man and fecundate the women. See the legend of õxsó. But it is not only a matter of an event that happened in the past (and they admit it with the certainty of a historical event), it can still happen, and, therefore, the women avoid looking at the two-headed snake, in order not to feel its attraction.

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able to carry through what are abrupt and violent gestures of mourning without disturbing the infant's feeding. In the midst of what seems to be an uncontrolled paroxysm of grief the mother adjusts her infant to a more comfortable position. The infants seem undisturbed. The women are wandering mourners, seeking out new partners with whom they exchange shouts until, with their voices hoarse and cracked, they crouch down together and weep.

FORMAL RITUALISTIC ELEMENTS

The dramatization of emotion is, I believe, the central theme of the *óyne*, as it is, indeed, the central theme of all Cubeo ceremonials. In the *óyne*, the dramatization of emotion is conducted most directly in the sexual interplay between men and women and in the variety of enactments, as in a pageant, of scenes of emotional significance. Dramatization is never the most direct evocation of emotion; it occurs only in the *óyne*, which of all Cubeo ceremonials demands the fullest emotional orchestration. In other ceremonies emotionality is either generalized, in the sense that one acquires a special lift from drink, narcotics, and dance, or else the emotional range is more limited, as in the ancestral cult initiation. The *óyne* provides for many modes of emotional stimulation. A secondary mode is physiological stimulation, which relies upon chicha, coca, tobacco, and *mihi*. On physiological stimulation I have only to add the note that in the *óyne* indulgence is greater and the state of frenzied excitement is sought quickly.

Chicha consumption at the *óyne* is prodigious. Months of labor go to the preparation of manioc mash, which is then allowed to ferment fully in combination with sugar cane extract. Men eat little or nothing during the three days of the *óyne*. They are nourished on chicha and blunt their hunger and fatigue with coca. The *Hehénewa* also bought *aguardiente* for guests who could not get drunk on chicha quickly enough.

The traditional Cubeo attitude toward drink and intoxication is religious, not secular. They do not drink for mere pleasure or to overcome anxiety. Secular drinking is for them distasteful, and it is rare to see an Indian drunk except at a ceremony. In the white settlement of Mitú it is the white man who is drunk and the sober Indian who watches him with amazement. Intoxication is a sacred state. In the *unkúndye*, drinking leads from passivity to quarreling. In the *óyne* the emotions unleashed by intoxication are channeled more directly.

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Religion

The religion of the Cubeo has no gods and therefore no worship. Anthropomorphic beings are plentiful in the form of forest monsters, fish, beasts, birds, insects, not to mention the *Bekûpwänwa* and *Kúwai* the transformer. But the Cubeo do not approach these beings and spirits in a supplicatory mood. They establish, rather, a mode of communication, of intercourse, with them, in the course of which specific results, the warding off of dangers, and the positive benefits of body growth and sib growth are expected to follow. Religious attitude must almost inevitably be modeled upon the experiences of relations among people. In Cubeo social life, as we have seen, one neither commands nor submits. People enter willingly into a relationship that will accomplish a specific end. A social relationship among the Cubeo, as we have repeatedly noted, demands a specific atmosphere of feelings, sentiments, emotions. To the Cubeo nothing of consequence can result from an act divorced from its proper mood. In precisely the same way, the Cubeo seek to establish a relationship with a supernatural being.

The Ancients, to recapitulate what has already been described in another context, join the people in drinking, dancing, smoking, and chewing coca. They come to whip the boys and men to make them grow and to give them potency and force in the initiation rites. They are bathed with in growth "magic." As *Xudjiko* and *Xudjikû* they come to mourn for the sib dead. In the mourning ceremony they are invoked by name only and do not appear. The invocation chant, how-

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ever, does not compel them to make the sib child grow. The Cubeo think it absurd to suggest that the *Bekûpwänwa* might need any urging to do for the sib what needs to be done and what they are capable of doing. It is impossible for a Cubeo to say that the *Bekûpwänwa* have withheld a benefit or that they can be made to do more under some circumstances and less under others. What is required – and the Cubeo do not say that the *Bekûpwänwa* have set requirements – is that a proper mode of social intercourse be established and maintained. The spirit and the manner of social intercourse must be correct, however, although not letter perfect. The spirit in which the social intercourse is carried out is more important than the ritual act. Many Cubeo ceremonies are abridged because, as they explain, the mood was wrong. Guests who should have come did not, and in the feeling of disappointment the ceremony is cut short. An error in a chant, in a dance, in a song, or in a ritual sequence is of no importance. Failure to conform to the rules of social intercourse with the supernatural beings, such as the Ancients, may have serious consequences only if the neglect is deliberate. In any case, *Bekûpwänwa* do not punish. They only withhold. In the case of the boy who ran away from his whipping at the hands of the *Bekûpwänwa*, my informants assured me that he would not be deprived of a year's growth. Since they, the elders, were prepared to forgive the youngster his uncontrollable timorousness on this occasion, the Ancients, they knew, would do likewise.

The Ancients are not referred to as "spirits." The term for spirit is *dekökü* and has, for the Cubeo, a more alien connotation than the term *Bekûpwänwa*. The Ancients or the ancestors are referred to by name so that association with them conveys directness and immediacy. I believe that it is for the sake of maintaining a sense of immediacy and of directness with the *Bekûpwänwa* that the Cubeo do not place them in some ancestral abode in some other world. The Ancients, to be sure, are known to have been buried in the ancestral rocks from which they emerged, at the rapids of Uaracapuri and Yurupari. But the burial place is not their place of abode. Strictly speaking they have no place of abode. The flutes and trumpets that embody them reside in a *caño* near the main stream of the sib. The Cubeo do not, however, claim that these sacred crypts are the residences of the Ancients. The ordinary dead, on the other hand, do have an abode. The point of distinction for the Cubeo is that the ordinary dead have been sent away and are no longer welcome, whereas the Ancients, who are not spirits of the dead in the ordinary sense, are always welcome.

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Apart from the Ancients there is *Kúwai*, who has been referred to here as a culture hero and as a transformer. He is not, as Koch-Grünberg called him, a "god." The Cubeo and the Arawakan tribes in the area share *Kúwai*. Among the Cubeo he is a mythical being who has long since withdrawn from any relationship with people by taking up a specific abode upon the high savannah. There are no rites involving *Kúwai* today, nor are there traditions that refer to any sacred relationship between the people and *Kúwai* in the past. *Kúwai* taught the Cubeo all their useful arts – fishing, cultivation, the making of all major implements. He instructed them in copulation. Illustrative of Cubeo attitudes toward the sexes is *Kúwai*'s constant difficulties with women – all human – and, by contrast, his orderly relations with Cubeo men. It was, as the legend narrates, his disappointments and frustrations in dealing with Cubeo women that led *Kúwai* to take up what is virtually a voluntary exile. *Kúwai* as transformer altered terrain features and created some smaller rivers. His role as creator is a limited one.

Some Indians did speak of a god whom they called *himénihinkũ* (my little soul). This god lives in the sky (*karáno*) in a house with his wife. He accepts good people into his house and puts bad people in a house for dogs. There is *Uménahonkũ*, an Ancient, but *himénihinkũ* is evidently a Christian doctrine that has been badly understood by the Indians of the Cuduiarí, whose relations with missionaries have been very marginal at best. Those Indians who had missionary contact attributed *himénihinkũ* to Christian teaching and rejected the doctrine as alien to them. They scoffed, particularly at his role as a creator of the world and of man. A fundamental feature of Cubeo religious thought is its reluctance to grant broad and extraordinary powers to any being. I shall return to this point.

Earlier writers on the Indians of the Vaupés have without exception reported "gods," "demons," or a "great spirit" called *Yurupari*. In simple fact there is no *Yurupari*. The term is jargon from the trade language of the Amazon based heavily upon Tupían and is used indiscriminately by the Indians to refer to anything that is sacred and taboo. In the Northwest Amazon region the sacred trumpets and flutes receive the designation of *yurupari* most commonly. But the people will put off any prying into their religion with *yurupari*. I never heard the *Bahúkiwa* refer to *yurupari* except when talking to some white man whose questions they did not regard seriously.

The ancestor beings represent for the Cubeo the only true beneficent "supernaturals" with whom they have relations. But we note that they are not credited with extraordinary powers. They do not

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771 move against other powers or forces. That is to say, the Cubeo know that growth, potency, and fertility are part of the ordinary scheme of things and that there is no force conspiring against such ordinary developments. The *Bekûpwãnwa* are not thought of as jealous, sensitive, threatening, or likely to take offense. It is noteworthy, too, that the emphasis in growth is upon the individual far more than it is upon the more abstract concept of sib. The Ancients will not guard the people against any unexpected dangers. To guard against menace, whether general or specific, there are specific measures that the sibmen themselves must take.

771 All other anthropomorphic beings in the Cubeo cosmos are either
776 menacing, mischievous, or harmless. Menace from supernaturals, however, is relatively moderate, not to be minimized but lacking in dread. The only menace that truly frightens the Cubeo is that which they attribute to persons.

776 The *abũhuwa* are cannibalistic forest monsters, the bogy men of the children. At the mourning ceremonies they are made to appear grotesque and absurd and hence harmless. There are many stories of human encounters with *abũhuwa* as ogres. In most, the *abũhuwa* are overcome. They can be outwitted, caught, and killed.

The story is told of an old woman alone in the maloca with two young children. *Abũhuwa* entered the house and the children were able to escape by climbing up to the house beams. But the old woman was caught. An *abũhukũ* rolled her between his palms until she became all soft and he sucked her out from the top of the head in the way a Cubeo child eats a banana. He hung her skin over the branch of a tree. When the others of the maloca returned they saw an *abũhuwa* family within. They set capsicum afire at the door of the house and as the *abũhuwa* sought to escape its acrid smoke, that is noxious to all unwanted spirits, they struck them down with clubs and killed them all.

Another tale is told of a hunter who, in the woods at night, was seized by the throat from behind. It was an *abũhukũ*. He struggled with it and killed it with a knife. In the morning he went to see it and it had taken the form of a sloth. *Abũhuwa*, it is said, are all very [754] hairy. Their armpit hair makes a very potent sorcery "poison." Any man who is bold enough may seize an *abũhukũ* and tear his armpit [821] hair. It is said that the ogre can be seized only when the moon is in eclipse or is red and low in the sky. The hair must be from the left armpit and can be cut only with a corn husk. It is cooked until reduced to ash, and then is mixed with water and allowed to dry to a paste in the sun. The paste is kept in a small gourd dish sealed with

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776 mythical fish with a mouth that has the lower jaw of the puño and
825 an upper jaw shaped like the beak of a parrot. Should a menstruant enter a canoe he will break it to bits. The Cubeo do not say that their fish ceremenials are for the purpose of promoting success in fishing. Their view rather is that when they are happy with a catch of fish they enjoy dancing with them. Increase magic may underlie the Cubeo relationship with fish. But if it does they either no longer recognize the instrumental motive or else they refuse to acknowledge it.

825 As with the *Bekûpwänwa*, the Cubeo relationship with the animal
● 771 world is largely one of establishing proper social relationships. In such relationships compulsion is out of place. In the animist world view of the Cubeo the entire animal world is communicant with the world of man. Some relationships, as has been noted, are dangerous, and therefore stand out in a special category. Among the dangerous relationships is that of the jaguar. Since the jaguar is identified with the shaman, it is more suitably discussed under the heading of shamanism. There are birds, such as a parrot called *bauvéko* and mafúku monkeys, who are feared because they are foretellers of misfortune. For the rest, and with the exceptions noted previously, the relationship between man and the animal world is casual and friendly. On the river, as we have already observed, the Indians address birds and fish by name. Their intense interest in domesticating animals of almost every variety as household pets must also be considered as part of the effort at communication of a concrete form.

825 The birds, *miwa*, are friendly spirits. They emerged, it is said,
776 from Uaracapurí with the Ancients and were originally in human form. The birds are the planters of fruits and berries and are their
[273] guardian spirits. They are appropriately at the same time the guard-
[532] ian spirits of intoxication, a bird with a corn-cob body and wings of
[765] a manioc tray fragment presiding in that capacity over the *dyne*.

The luminary *aiyá*, who is both sun and moon, is a more distant
776 anthropomorphic spirit.[1] The Cubeo interest is in the moon, the li-
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[1] The doctrine of *aiyá* as both sun and moon is mythological only. It does not mean that the Cubeo do not distinguish clearly between these two bodies. *Aiyá* refers to the anthropomorphic being whose activities are actually in moon form; it refers also to direction. East is called by the Cubeo *aiyáduino* (*aiyá* [the sun] is coming). West correspondingly is expressed as "*aiyá* is going." To express time, however, the sun is referred to by the particular name of *handwûkakû*, an anthropomorphic form that has, however, no anthropomorphic connotation to my knowledge. *Handwû* refers to time in the abstract, while *handwû korika* (sun in the center) means "midday." All specific times are given by describing the position of the sun in the sky. The word for "day" or "daylight" is *hánan* and is apparently based upon the verb root *ha* (to see). The Cubeo disclaim any anthro-

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754 278 824 682 at the Isana River. This is so potent that only the smallest amount will kill. The poisoner carries it under the fingernail of his index finger held in place with pitch. He may flick it into a calabash of chicha or drop it on a stool, where it will enter the anus of a victim and kill him within a month. The symptoms are headache, fever, stomach cramps, constipation, and wasting. The following tale accounts for the origin of *pená*. There was a drinking party on the Isana River and the people were dancing with *Bekûpwänwa*. Suddenly *Kómi*, a short, fat man, flew into the house on two sticks. He caught a little boy and ate him alive and then another. The people became angry and tried to beat *Kómi* to death with clubs. He said to them, "If you shed my blood you will all die quickly. If you kill me in the house you will all die quickly." *Kómi* told them to take him to a creek called *Manánkanihye*, where they were to build a fire and throw him in. They did this and *Kómi* was reduced to ashes. Every bird and insect that flew near the fire fell into it and was burned. When the fire cooled, a little boy took some bone ash, although his father had warned him not to touch it, and dropped some at the canoe landing. An old man passed over it and immediately fell sick, then another. They tried it on animals and saw it was a good "poison." It comes to the Cuduiarí from Arawakan Indians by way of the Querarí.

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278 824 Curare (*himá*) is known as a powerful poison that may be used only in war and not as a secret potion.

751 As a far from effective prophylactic against all poisons that may be administered at drinking parties and other group gatherings, the people wear as pendants packets made of a leaf called *hutcûdü*, that gives a certain amount of protection against sorcery and poisoning.

75 776 789 771 The attitude of the Cubeo that human malevolence is difficult if not impossible to guard against must be contrasted with their optimism when it comes to dealing with nonhuman spirit beings. Thus, it will be recalled how the spells and "blowing" against the spirits that threaten the newborn infant can be safely entrusted to any sib elder; he need not possess special powers, only the knowledge. The technique of "blowing" has, oddly enough, full magical efficacy in the hands of the layman but is altogether uncertain when used by a medicine man. The point, of course, is that the layman uses simple magic against a manageable nonhuman adversary, whereas the medicine man is called in to pit himself against a formidable human adversary. The human adversary is formidable in Cubeo eyes for two reasons: it acts out of directed passion and it is devious. The nonhuman spirit world, by contrast, is stirred up to a generalized anger.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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The river anaconda is angered at newborn children and at menstruating women but not at any particular child or woman. The anger of spirits is, finally, direct. Men are always suspected of conspiring, but nonhuman spirits never do.

Finally, Cubeo religion includes a concept of inanimate power, of power resident in substances, places, and personal states of being. I found no articulate Cubeo theory as to inanimate power. *Parúkũ* is clearly personalized power and *parié* is limited in its applicability to objects intimately associated with the Ancients, the flutes and trumpets in particular. But clearly there is power in pigments, feathers, animal bones, plants, the toenail of the armadillo (which the medicine man uses to bring rain), human hair, leg ligatures, and a host of ceremonial objects. With respect to these substances it is clear that we are dealing with assorted beliefs and practices that are both old and widespread throughout the tropical forests of South America, not to mention beliefs that are close to universal.

Genipa (*wei*) is the most potent pigment. It is applied to the hands and feet as gloves and socks and is run coarsely down the back to create a deliberately crude covering rather than a design. The Cubeo are sensitive to neatly executed designs and normally take great pains with body painting, using special sticks as well as die rollers to stamp a design. The crudeness of genipa painting is to differentiate it from body decoration and to emphasize its purely magical character. Men do use genipa paint, but it is primarily a protective pigment for women and children. A menstruating woman will always coat her back with genipa as a safeguard against animal spirits. She will coat her hands with it when handling sacred substances such as coca and tobacco. Applied to infants, genipa wards off influences that might impede growth. Women say only that genipa is good for the skin, but this is typical evasiveness.

Red pigment (*monhá*) has more of a decorative function. It is applied by men and women with great care. Applied in spots it is jaguar magic to protect infants, and applied crudely it is a protection of sorts against the *yavi*.

It was never clear to me whether the love charm *pedidya*, a blossom worn in the hair, was intended to work by magic or merely by suggestion. The most effective love potions, carefully safeguarded by the women even against the prying anthropologist, are secret and magical.

Among ceremonial objects the *behórũ* is a rattle lance some three meters long with a hollow chamber at the top in which pebbles have been placed. It can bring rain, one informant said, but it was not used by the Cubeo for that purpose.